calities are favored and others overlooked. What is this bill? I should be continued to be appropriated from year to year, I would say to my honorable friend from Georgia (Mr. Dawson) that it is like many other measures which, from time to time, have been gotten up and received the sanction of congress. It is a compromise. This compromising spirit cilities to foreign trade. Congress. It is a compromise. This compromising truns through all our legislation. It is a doctrine, or rath practice, which always has been, and always will obtain to runs through all our legislation. It is a doctrine, or rather a practice, which always has been, and always will obtain upon such questions. How often have we heard it rung through this chamber that the constitution itself is a great result of compromises, made by sensible and intelligent men, who wished to effect a great purpose, and founded upon the impossibility of harmonizing all minds and all interests of a great country, to the perfect satisfaction of all. The eminence of the wisdom and virtues of the statemen whe formed that instrument is illustrated by their practical good sense in sacrificing their opinions upon some subjects, upon some points of policy, in order to ensure a greater good. What measure was ever passed by the Congress of the United States that commended itself to the intelligence and approval of every member of either House of Congress, or which was entirely satisfactory to any one member? I undertake to say, not one. I admit this bill, like all other human works, has imperfections. It does not commend itself to me in all its de-I admit this only its state of the state of plain that many important objects are excluded. The aggre-gate amount proposed to be appropriated is larger than I desired. If it were expedient to make any change, I would cut down the bill instead of adding to it. But I have opposed all amendments, because I considered that to amend we be to tose the bill. I repeat, that if I were to vote to sme be to lose the bill. I repeat, that if I were to vote to amend, I should vote for diminishing, and not for increasing the appropriations. Why, one of the most useful, and in some respects, one of the finest streams in the world flows by my own door—the Cumberland river. It is navigable, at some seasons of the year, for six or seven hundred miles, by boats of a small class, and in the principal business season it floats steamers of one thousand tons burden a distance of more than we hundred miles. It flows into the Ohio, and then its waters reach and mix with the Mississippi. Appropriations have been made for it in former times, but the House of Representatives this year did not choose to incorporate it in waters reach and mix with the Mississippi. Appropriations have been made for it in former times, but the House of Representatives this year did not choose to incorporate it in the bill. Yet I would not offer an amendment for that river, and I would have voted against any amendment offered for that purpose by any Senator, because I should consider the effect to be to kill the bill. There is an appropriation in this bill for a stream which flows, in part, through the State which I have the honor to represent—the Tennessee river. But the most important improvement to be made on that river will probably be made on that portion of the river which interests the State of Alabama quite as much as any portion of Tennessee. So that, properly speaking, except a small portion of that appropriation, not a cent of money in this bill goes to the improvement of any object, river, or harbon in Tennessee. But Tennessee has a great interest in the bill; an interest in it which afficists me and every other citizen of Tennessee; one so urgent that it has had a preponderating influence on my judgment in regard to this bill—in regard to the expediency and policy of this measure. The Mississippi washes the western border of Tennessee. All the waters which drain the State of Tennessee flow into the Mississippi directly, or find their way into it by uniting with the Ohio. Most of the rich products of the State, its thousands of bales of cotton, its tobacco, and corp are attachment these waters, and down the cts of the State, its thousands of bales of cotton, its tobacco. and corn, are transported upon these waters, and down the Mississippi to the great market of New Orleans. The ob-

provements of the Ohio; an interest in every stream which drains every portion of the magnificent valley of the Mis-Look at the condition of the friends of this bill, and judge if they are to be denounced for their perseverance in its sup-port. The question is, whether we shall yield now, when we have a decided expression of sentiment in favor of the measure? This bill has been under consideration for two days—for twenty-four hours of actual and laborious session. We have had a manifestation of a majority of some eight or ten votes in the Senate in favor of this great messure, shown by a vote upon numerous propositions to give it the go-by. It is a great measure. It is a measure called for by the necessi-ties of the great West. It is called for by humanity. It is called for by higher considerations than mere property. It reaches the interests of life itself; for perils by night and by day encompass the thousand lives as well as the millions of property daily embarked upon the turbid, violent, and now dangerous current of the father of rivers, to say nothing of the perils in the navigation of its great tributaries. No gentle-man knows this better than the honorable Senator from Loui-sians, (Mr. Dowss,) who sits before me, and who has distinguished himself by his opposition to this bill. Shall we give up such a measure under such circumstances?

Mr. DOWNS. I will say to the gentleman, that if the

propriate for clearing out and removing the snags and impedi-ments from the Mississippi river. But the Senator, I believe, voted against increasing the appropriation for that great river. of such a proposition would be to kill the bill, whe'her it was so intended or not—and I imputed no motive. There is pick a flaw in some of its details, and raise a hue and cry of

friends of the bill will strike out its objectionable features, no Senators will go further than my colleague and myself to ap-

the navigation of those great rivers—depends upon the suc-cess of this measure. Their great channels of intercommunication should be improved. They are entitled to protection and the fostering care of the Government. I care not what particular clause of the constitution may be considered as conferring the power—whether the war-making power, the postal power, or the power to regulate commerce. I do not care whre you locate the power. You may place it upon all three if you choose, as it was placed some thirty years sgo by the distinguished Secretary of War at that time, the late Mr. distinguished Secretary of Calhoun. The The power we have. These appropriations are not for the purpose of the local expenditure of the Calhoun. The power we have. These appropriations are demanded, not for the purpose of the local expenditure of the public money, as some impute; but for the safety, protection, and advancement of internal commerce and intercourse. Nine or ten millions of deliars are now appropriated annually for the protection of foreign commerce, in the support of a navy. What do you want with a navy but to support and protect your foreign commerce. You would have no foreign wars if you abandoned your foreign commerce. It is our foreign and commercial intercourse that involves us in all our foreign wars. And besides that, you will have no need of fortifications if you abandon your commerce. No foreign Power will tions if you abandon your commerce. No foreign Power will come here to attack you, but for the interests and relations growing out of your foreign trade. We are no Chinese empire. Que civilization is not of such a nature, nor are our riches of such a kind, that foreign nations would come to our shores, and insist on trading with us against our will Even your war with Mexico is alleged to have grown out of a vioyour war with Mexico is alleged to have grown out of a vio-lation of your rights in your commercial intercourse with that country. Abandon your foreign commerce, or let it shift for itself, and you will have no use for a navy, nor for expensive fortifications studding your sea coast. I believe that our for-tifications alone cost some ten or twelve hundred thousand dollars annually. There is also your lighthouse establishment for the benefit of the foreign and the coasting trade, costing annually six or seven hundred thousand dollars. There is, too, your coast survey, for the security of your foreign and coasting trade, which has already cost more than a million and a half; which cannot be completed for less than five millions, and may reach ten millions. Then look at your rich marble buildings, such as questorn beauty. marble buildings, such as custom-houses, in all your great commercial cities on the Atlantic and the Gulf. See what vast expense the Government assumes on account of foreign commerce in that particular branch of expenditure. Look at commerce in that particular branch of expenditure. Look at the custom-house in the city of New Orleans. It is estimated that it will cost between two and three millions of dollars. This is in the State whose Senators oppose this bill. We have heard much said of the influence of the local expenditures proposed by this bill on the minds of its friends. Here is an object of expenditure, the benefit of which is chiefly enjoyed by New Orleans, or the State of Louisiana; and with could fairness that could have been uncountered.

port of foreign commerce? It would be a mere pittance—a mere fraction of what is annually voted for protection and facilities to foreign trade.

I have already stated that this bill has its defects. There are items in it which I would be glad to see out of it, yet none of which can be fairly excluded as of no utility or importance. As far as I have been able to consider it, the objects proposed to be improved are useful to the trade of not only one State, but of many States.

Of what use, it is asked, are all these harbors on the lakes? These lakes, by their natural formation, have no great indentations, no inlets, no bays, no islands, no headlands, no shelter. The commerce upon them is exposed to storms and all the other perils of ocean navigation, and even greater perils. These lakes are extraordinary in that respect. I remember, some twenty years ago, to have passed down Lake Erie on a steamboat from Sandusky City, which had been compelled to carry passengers from Buffalo to Detroir, and thence back again, who had been taken on board for Dunkirk and Erie. The reason was, that although the weather was not so boisterous as to prevent the running of the steamer, yet they could not safely make a landing at either of those points. I remember that I was exposed for twenty-four hours to some peril, because there was no neighboring harbor or place of refuge. All these harbors are national, and are very necessary as places of refuge in stormy weather, even though there may be but little or no trade directly connected with some of them. Honorable Senators must remember that some of those who have been supporting this bill have been more diligent to ascertain. little or no trade directly connected with some of them. Honorable Senators must remember that some of those who have been supporting this bill have been more diligent to ascertain and be satisfied of the utility of these works than they have. It is of the greatest importance that these appropriations be made; and, though there are some objects of inferior importance embraced in the bill, to many others which are excluded, I am not on that ground willing to see the bill voted down, and those great objects which so loudly call for the aid of the Government left altogether unprovided for.

Now, I wish to warn my friends on the other side of the charmer of what will be the consequences if this bill fails.

hamber of what will be the consequences if this bill fails,

Now, I wish to warn my friends on the other side of the chamber of what will be the consequences if this bill fails, and it may fail.

Mr. FOOTE. It certainly will fail.

Mr. BELL. The honorable Senator says it certainly will fail. Perhaps it will, and he certainly is better informed as to its probable fate than I am. I will not argue the constitutional question. I think that has long been settled by numerous precedents, and by many years of uninterrupted practice: I was a member of the House for many years, and I believe I never voted for one of these river and harbor bills; not because I held the appropriations unconstitutional, but because all the bills that were ever presented had some objects or items of appropriation which I thought objectionable; perhaps, as I have grown older, some Senators may say that I have grown wiser, and that I am a more sensible man now than I was then. It was the hey-day of Gen. Jackson's popularity and power; and during part of the time I was the supporter of his administration. Then I voted against bills which sometimes contained an appropriation of half a million, sometimes of a million, and sometimes of a million and a half of dollars; and though Gen. Jackson approved them, I voted against them on the ground that I did not like "Big Sodus" and "Little Sodus," and other objects which I knew but little about, or of which I had no personal knowledge, and I did not believe they were of any national or general importance—objects only cared for by members for the benefit of the local expenditure. I could never get a bill which I approved in all its parts—every item of which came within my definition of a national and proper subject or object of Government patronage. I have learned since to have more respect for the opin-Mississippi to the great market of New Orleans. The obstructions and impediments to the navigation of the Mississippi have become so great of late, that I learn that passengers who once alept in security, and passed in comparative comfort and composure down that gigantic stream, now fear to seek repose in sleep by night or by day. That stream washes the border of the State of the honorable gentleman from Mississippi on my right, (Mr. Foorx,) who so sternly opposes this bill. It drains and carries off the produce of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana, and all the States upon its upper tributaries. The Senators from all these States have a common and deep interest in the bill, focal and general. They have an interest, also, in the improvements of the Ohio; an interest in every stream which national and proper subject or object of Government patron-age. I have learned since to have more respect for the opinions of other gentlemen, and not quite so much confidence in my own—to know that, as a member of this body, or of any other legislative body, I should not adhere so obstinately to other legislative body, I should not adhere so obstinately to my own opinions upon questions of mere expediency, but defer more to the opinions of others who had better means of judging. I speak only of myself, and not meaning to affirm any thing of others, I would say, that an obstinate adherence to one's opinions, in opposition to that of every body else, would in me be evidence of an undue conceit of my own infallibility. I am not so bigoted as to do so. I do not impute any such impropriety to honorable Senators, when they avow that they have constitutional and other objections to this bill. But I think that, if they had as lively a perception as I have of the necessity of these appropriations for the great interior, But I think that, if they had as lively a perception as I have of the necessity of these appropriations for the great interior, they would not be so critical, they would not be so over refined in their process of arriving at a conclusion, as to what particular object was or was not constitutional or national. I do not say that any Senator ought to waive his constitutional scruples, and consent to those appropriations which he thinks we have so right to make, either under the power to regulate commerce, the war power, or under the postal power. If any Senator has constitutional doubts of our authority under any of these powers to appropriate money to improve the great channels of internal products are transported from place to place, to find a profitable and convenient market, while he admits the authority to expend millions for the security and protection of foreign trade, he is perfectly right in not assenting to this bill. Honorable Senators complain that this bill was got up t

such a combination, or putting together of objects, as to secure a majority of votes in both Houses of Congress. Upon that point I must say, that I have not had the slightest knowledge of any concert of action in the Senate, or of any con-sultation between members, whether of the House or of the Senate, or between the members of the House and those of in the Senate.

It is a common device for gentlemen, when they do not

so meended or not—and I imputed no motive. There is already proposed to be appropriated every cent that can be usefully and economically applied by any Executive—the most energetic and industrious.

Sir, the West demands such an appropriation as this, and at this time. Sir, I repeat, that the safety of the lives and of the property of the people of the great Valley, in the prosecution of commercial enterprise, and the enjoyment of social intercourse—so intimately connected with and dependant upon the such as a win some of its details, and raise a hue and cry of unfairness and combination. Every body knows that all measures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sure sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation of sures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation.

I have a maw in some of its details, and raise a hue and cry of the upon some calculation. Every body knows that all measures of this kind are gotten up upon some calculation.

I have a maw in some of its details, and raise and combination. tween sections; so multiplied as to do equal justice, if possible, to all. Yet it rarely happens that justice is done to all. This is so when the most honest intentions exist. But, sir, suppose it to be true in fact that this bill and all its predecessors have been gotten up by such management and combinations of individual members, as, in respect to many of its items, to consult local rather than general interests, and include some objects not otherwise important than to secure a majority o objects not otherwise important than to secure a msjority of votes; and this is said to be the character of this bill—if it be true, what is the cause of it; what the temptation to such a proceeding? It is, that a minority of members in both Houses of Congress continue to oppose all appropriations of this nature, disregarding all former precedents; standing out on constitutional grounds in opposition to the opinions and practice of many of the most illustrious statesmen of the country of both parties. Others again, who do not profess any constitutional difficulty, hold that it is inexpedient to make such appropriations, and that the policy will necessarily lead to extravagance and corruption. This is the prime cause and source of any of those improper combinations which are charged to exist. Let the minority show themselves practical statesmen. Let them once yield to the force of numerous and well established precedents, and be content to follow in the footsteps of most of the great intellectual lights of the country; let them unite with the majority in Congress, and with the general semiment of the country, and instead of warring against these appropriations, lend their aid in digesting a system of river and harbor improvement, which will take away the temptation and put it out of the power of individual members of Congress to thrust in their petty local objects to the exclusion of others which are of real magnitude and importance. Let them do this, and we shall hear no more of these combinations and corruptions now so freely charged. I call upon Southern gentlemen, especially those who are most vehement in their opposition to this bill, to consider whether they are not really responsible for whatever imperfections may belong to it. Will they allow no weight to the opinions of such men as Madison, Monroe, Adams, Jackson, and Calhoun, to say nothing of the doctrines of living statesmen? During Gen, Jackson's administration, notwithstanding his famous veto of the Mayeville road, there was about five millions of

tions—one satisfactory to all sections.

It has been contended by those who doubt the constitutional rice in that process of the local system of the form of the form of the first of the inflaence of the local say.

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In the Streewing of the State of Localisans is and the day of the state which is the street of the street power of Congress to make internal improvement, that the proper course would be to obtain a clear grant of the power by

ive and pressing.

Mr. DOWNS. Why was it not brought forward earlier m the session.

Mr. BELL. It was not sent to the Senate until the 25th

Mr. FOOTE. I can tell the history of the matter. Mr. FOOTE. I can tell the history of the matter.

Mr. BELL. I do not want to hear any private history, and there could be no motive among its friends in either House to delay it. I know the Committee on Commerce of the Senate, who had numerous memorials before them on the subject, thought it better to wait until the House of Representatives decided on the question. The general principles connected with the subject have long since been fully discussed, and every member doubtless had his mind made up before the bill was taken up. Let the minority, who are opposing this bill, say when such a measure will ever pass Congress, if this one is abandoned now. It is already said that this is an obsolete policy; that Mr. Polk's veto of 1846 killed it. There was a good reason for not pressing a measure of this kind was a good reason for not pressing a measure of this kind while Mr. Polk continued in power; and, besides, the Mexican war, for the time, absorbed the public attention and the resources of the Treasury. At the last session of Congress I need not say, what fashings and the last session of Congress I need not say, what feelings and what interests operated to defer any measure of this character. They are to well known; the recollection of them is too vivid to require even a passing notice from me. During Mr. Polk's administration this whole policy was arrested; and this is the first session since that time, when the subject could be renewed with any prospect of success. We have now an apparent majority of eight or ten in favor of this measure, and why should it not be passed? Ample time has been allowed its opponents to discuss it in every aspect of it.

every aspect of it.

Mr. DOWNS. I would like to know if a general system

Mr. DOWNS. I would like to know if a general system of internal improvements was not advocated by the Whig party during the last Presidential campaign? Mr. BELL. Not to my knowledge. I have never advocated a general system of internal improvements. I sustained General Jackson in his veto of that system. The honorable Senator speaks of a general system of internal improvements. I have adverted to that distinction a hundred times in discussing these questions before the people. I have not considered that gentlemen of the Democratic party, as a party, were committed against the improvement of rivers and harbors. We have only to complain that they never conform to their principles upon this subject. The honorable Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) would not, in my opinion, be inconsistent—would not contradict the principles of the Baltimore platform, if he voted for every item in the bill. His doctrines, as avowed in this debate on the subject of improving the rivers and ed in this debate on the subject of improving the rivers and harbors of the West, have been held for many years, in my

harbors of the West, have been held for many years, in my section of the country, as good Whig doctrine.

But I am sorry to have said any thing in relation to party in speaking of a subject which ought to be free from party censiderations altogether—which ought to be emancipated from the embarrassments of party feelings and party interests. I should not have adverted to it at all, but for the interrogatory of the Senator from Louisians.

Honorable Senators expect the majority to yield, because they say the billi ought not to be thrown on the last days of the session. Now, I have been a member of Congress, of one house or the other, for eighteen years, and I have never known a time when all great and leading measures were not thrown on the last days of the session. I have sures were not thrown on the last days of the session. I have never attributed this to design. It is an inevitable result of the organization and practical operation of our system of

mr. FOOTE. It is by design, I think.

Mr. BELL. It always requires labor and time before suc measure can be digested in committee. It requires careful a measure can be digested in committee. It requires careful consideration to select proper points for improvement—improvements that can be defended upon principle; and though such bills should be reported early in the session, it always happens that they are last considered. I have never known the appropriation bills to be passed till within the few last days of the session. And I may ask why the appropriation bills have been delayed until the last of the session? I know established the session of the session of the session of the session. timates are required to be sent in early; but does that forward or materially expedite the bills? We may differ about the or materially expedite the bills? We may differ about the causes of delay, but the fact is as I have stated. If now, sir, with an apparent majority of nine or ten in favor of this bill, we yield, may we expect to pass such a bill at the next session of Congress? May we not expect to have a renewal then of the same obstinate spirit of opposition which we now behold? Why is there such a determined spirit of opposition to this bill by the minority of the Senate? But do gentlemen expect by this means to defeat the policy of making any appropriations to internal trade forever? It is essential that the great West should know whether they may or may not rely upon the Government of the United States to sid in removing the obstructions in their great rivers and lakes and moving the obstructions in their great rivers and lakes, and providing for the security of their lives and property. It is important that they should know this, so that they may be waked up to a full an earnest consideration of the subject and

Honorable Sepators have threatened that the majority will not so vain as to undertake to predict with certainty what may be the consequence to the maj nity. They may be censured; their political prospects may be destroyed by persisting in this measure; but such is not my opinion. It may be well for the minority to consider what may be the consequence to them if they persist, against the manifest centiment of the majority, in wearing out the session in opposing this measure.

I wish to ask my honorable friends on the other side of the chamber if they desire to see the previous question adopted in the Senate ? I never do. I never want to see it established as a rule of this body; but I warn gentlemen that they are provoking the establishment of such a rule. I do not blame gentlemen for resorting to all constitutional and perliamentary means in opposing at any time a really obnoxious measure. If this were a vicious measure, if it were a bill of enormities in reality, if it were a bill violatory of any great principle of public liberty or of the Constitution, I would say Senators are perfectly justifiable in their course; but this I deny.

Gentlemen have denounced this as a bill of enormities.

Gentlemen have denounced this as a bill of enormities.
Let them point to the items which constitute this enormity—
let them point to a single item of such a nature. Opponents
of the bill have spoken more than twenty-two hours, and they
have not yet pointed out one of these enormities. But I recur to the question: do honorable Senators wish to see the
previous question introduced as one of the rules of the Senate?
Mr. FOOTE. I believe we never will have it here.
Mr. BELL. I believe a majority of the Senate can, by
the constitution, at every new Congress, adopt rules and reg-

the constitution, at every new Congress, adopt rules and reg-ulations to govern their proceedings; and it will be in their power to establish the previous question as one of the rules. I, too, trust we never shall adopt it. But if these appropria-tions are withheld from the great West, they will send a ma-I, too, trust we never shall adopt it. But if these appropriations are withheld from the great West, they will send a majority here that will wrest from the minority the power to defeat these beneficent objects. I shall be most reluctant—I shall be among the last, to consent to the adoption of the previous question in the Senate, if it be possible to avoid it, and yet do justice to the claims of the great interests of the country. The Senate ought to be a body which would never require a resort to such a mode of enforcing the will of the majority, or of providing for the wants of the country. The privilege of debate, either in one House or in the other, should be free and unrestricted. We should have no five minutes rule—no hour rule. I consider it one of the greatest safeguards of our liberty and union that debate should be free. But if the minority will, to-night, persist and defeat this bill, they must take the responsibility of all the consequences. I warn them sgain, that if they persist in their present course, they may create such a feeling, such a sentiment of indignation in the country, that the members of this body will be compelled to yield to it. Senators from the South, particularly, should reflect on this. God grant the previous question may never be adopted in this body. Not even the loss of this measure would induce me to vote for its adoption, while any hope remains of a better and more practical temper among members. I go for freedom of debate. Standing here, with unrestricted and free debate, I defy any combination of fanatics or enemies of the Union to sunder its ties. But the moment you apply the gag, the moment you adopt the previous question as a rule, and stifle free debate, I would not sive much, as a Southern men, for the surranties of the

commerce. Look at the enormous annual expenditure for the security of foreign trade, while nothing is given for the security and advancement of commerce on the great waters of the richest valley in the world.

The honorable Senators, who so s'emly and resolutely oppose this bill, think the majority ought to abandon it. They say, in the first place, that it was not taken up according to its right of precedence of the civil and diplomatic bill according to the usual order of business in the Senate. Its consideration was pressed in preference to all other measures, because of its great importance to the interests of a great and barbor for our vessels of war on the whole Atlantic coast. Yet Rhode Island could never bring influence enough to bear to have a naval depot established in its waters. I remember valent in settling its details. Why, sir, if you look at the course of legislation even in regard to the great establishments for the public defence, you will find that justice has rarely ever been done to all sections or localities; and that improper influences have often prevailed to the prejudice of the public interest. Take, for example, the location of our navy yards—our naval depots. There is the Narraganest bay, furnishing the finest harbor, the most secure, accessible, and spacious refuge and harbor for our vessels of war on the whole Atlantic coast. Yet Rhode Island could never bring influence enough to bear to have a naval depot established in its waters. I remember an effort was made to repair the injustice, done not only to Rhode Island, but to the general interests of the country, in not locating one of our navy vards at Newport, since I came

Rhode Island, but to the general interests of the country, in not locating one of our navy yards at Newport, since I came into Congress, but it could not be done. The preponderating influence of the powerful commonwealths of New York and Massachusetts still prevailed. Sir, if it had been Georgia instead of Rhode Island, which contained such a harbor, and the Government continued to neglect it, and give the preference to bays and harbors of infinitely less importance, she would at least have threatened rebellion. It is an imperfection, an injustice, more or less, which runs through all legislation.

lation.

I want to know, now, if the opponents of this bill mean to defeat the appropriation bills? Have they made up their minds that, to defeat this bill, they will throw out the appropriation bills? If they have, let them consider upon whom the responsibility ought to be, and will be. Will it rest upon the minority, which obstinately persists in its opposition to this bill, or upon the majority? I am aware, sir, that some share of responsibility will fall also upon the majority, if the appropriation bills are lost. No one regrets more sincerely than I do the state of things which has been brought about by the conflict between the friends and the opponents of this by the conflict between the friends and the opponents of this measure. It is a state of things that all should deprecate. I do not deem myself competent to advise those gentlemen who do not deem myself competent to advise those gentlemen who are the friends of this measure. I would scarcely know how to advise them at the present hour of the session, under all the circumstances. I will not undertake to separate myself from them. I think it is incumbent upon those gentlemen who have opposed the measure, to consider what they ought to do under the circumstances.

Mr. GWIN. I still have hope that we may have a vote on the appropriation bills. There is evidently a point of honor between the two sides—the advocates and the opponents of this bill. Its advocates look upon it as a point of honor to this bill. Its advocates look upon it as a point of honor to bring the Senate to a vote. Its opponents look upon it as a duty on their part to defeat the bill. I think they can accomplish both objects very soon, and then we can proceed with other business. If I understand the rules, no bill can go to the President for his signature if any member objects to the suspension of the seventeenth joint rule; and, therefore, if there is a majority to pass this bill, it cannot be sent to the President if any one objects.

mmediately?

Mr. FOOTE. I will tell my friend if he wishes to know. If we permit this bill to pass in its present crude and imper-fect form, some gentieman will be smart enough to include it with others in a motion to suspend the rule that it may be

Mr. GWIN. I look upon it that we are in a state of revolution if we cannot pass the appropriation bills. I believe that, if it could be understood that there should be no opposition to the passage of the appropriation bill, and that then this bill should come up in its ordinary course, the appropriation bill could be signed by the President. I have made this suggesion, because I look upon it as a matter so important that beg the Senate to come to the conclusion to take a vote on the bill and then run the risk of getting it to the President. Mr. CLEMENS. I wish to make an explanation. I did

not choose to interrupt the Senstor from Tennessee (Mr. Bell) during the progress of his remarks in relation to the question which I propounded as to the location of New Delaware. I wish to state that, it so happened, in the copy of the bill which I was reading, the word "castle" had been not acquainted, and I did not believe the Senator from Tennessee was. He admitted, however, that there more than twenty places named in the bill that he did not know any thing about.

Mr. RUSK. It is selder.

spare between this and twelve o'clock, after disposing of them here and in the House, enrolling the bill, and presentthem here and in the House, enrolling the bill, and present-ing it for the signature of the President. I apprehend that no Senator is anxious to have an extra session of Congress; but the result will be, if we go on much longer with this bill, that the appropriation bills must inevitably fail. I ask the unanimous consent of the Senate to lay this bill saide informally in order to take up the appropriation bills, and act upon nem, and send them to the House.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I object.

Mr. FOOTE. Very well, sir. With the gentleman be

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Gentlemen who have been oppose ing this bill have said that they consider themselves justified in resorting to all parliamentary action within their power to attain their object. I have simply acted upon that principle, and mean to act upon that principle to the end. I think it is a fair understanding that we both act upon principles of par-

liamentary law on both sides.

Mr. DICKINSON. It is obvious that a portion of these bills must be lost. I have no control over the appropriation bill, but I have uniformly voted to get it before the Senate, and for laying this bill on the table, though I have desired to have it passed in an acceptable form. I was very anxious to have it passed, but it is obvious that it cannot be passed with the opposition which has been manifested against it for two days. I am not willing that the last sands of my political life should be wasted in a struggle of this description. It is my duty to move to take up the appropriation bill, and if there is time after that, I am willing to return to this bill. But it seems to me unworthy of the time and the occasion to tand struggling for this measure when we must be aware

that it cannot be passed.

Mr. GWIN. Will the Senator from Mississippi permit me
to make a motion to lay this bill on the table till six o'clock.

Mr. RUSK. I will not vote for it. Mr. GWIN. It will give us two hours and a half.
Mr. UNDERWOOD. I believe there is no virtue like

mness in this political warfare. I believe no man can do meelf or his party justice who does not abide by his prinples on all occasions and at all times. A SENATOR. But— Mr. UNDERWOOD. Yes, sir; "but" when my friends

come to argue with me I yield, and if it be their pleasure to seas this bill by informally, with the right to call it up when the appropriation bill is acted upon, I will consent.

Mr. FOOTE. We will take it up when the appropriation oille are through.

Mr. HUNTER. I will endeavor to push the appropriation

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Then, reserving that right, I will

Mr. BRIGHT. That proposition has been decided to be out of order. It must be postponed to a day certain, or laid on the table. The Chair has repeatedly decided that the proposition to lay it aside informally cannot be made without una

mous consent.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Will my friend allow me to say that I thought it was to be put on the same footing that we have placed other bills continually by the consent of the

Mr. WALKER. I have witnessed, in the short period have been here, three such scenes as this. One was upon the Oregon bill; another was upon a proposition offered by myself to the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill; this is the third. The first attempt failed; the second succeeded. It was this night two years ago. I regretted exceedingly that some who gave way then did so, and I then promised myself, some who gave way then did so, and I then promised myself, whatever might be the consequences to myself, my frieads, or the country, that I never would yield again. There is a moral involved in this thing. The evil is growing on the country, and as certain as this revolutionary spirit is manifested by minorities we cannot get along. The Senator from Kentucky has spoken on the subject of firmness. I wish there was another Kentuckian here. For one I will say, if the

Whig side of the House are disposed to give way, if the Whig side of the House are disposed to give way, they shall give way upon the record. That is all I have to say.

Mr. FOOTE. I suppose this cannot be laid upon the table without the unanimous consent of the Senate, and I understand the Senator from Wisconsin to object.

Mr. WALKER. All I want is to have the year and nays

on the question, so that we may see how this matter is pu Mr. DAWSON. If the Senator from Mississippi will give

vay I will make a motion to postpone the bill until 9 or 10 'clock.
Mr. FOOTE. I understand the Senator from Kentucky Mr. Unnerwoon) is going to make a proposition to pass by

is bill informally.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I said when an appeal was mad Mr. UNDERWOOD. I said when an appeal was made to me by my friends to make such a proposition, I could not resist it, but I could resist it when it was made from the other side. I have yielded so far as to say that I would move to pass it by informally till some particular hour. If there is an understanding that we shall resume its consideration at 9 or 10 o'clock, I will make no objection.

Mr. BELL. If my friend from Kentucky will say that he

agrees to it, I will move to postpone the further consideratio of the bill till 8 o'clock. Mr. CHASE. I do not mean to take up a single momen

f the time of the Senate; but I mean to say that as one o the friends of this bill I shall vote against the motion to postpone, because I know that if it is postponed to a time certain other matters will intervene, and it will not be taken up again

Other masters will intervene, and it will not be taken up again.

Other measures will be brought forward and discussed, and
they will occupy more time and lead to more angry feelings
than this question is likely to occasion.

Mr. BELL. It is understood that this bill will be made
the special order for 8 o'clock. I add that to the motion.

The question was then taken, with the following result: YEAS-Messra Atchison, Badger, Bell, Bright, Clarke,

The steamer Ohio, following close upon the Crescent City, arrived at New York on Saturday, with the California mails to the 15th February. Together, they bring nearly three hundred passengers and a little upwards of eight hundred thousand

ollars in gold. The United States frigate Savannah arrived at Panama on the 4th instant, in forty-five days from San Francisco.

The intelligence from California is scercely as nteresting as usual. The annexed summary, from the Alta California of the 15th, includes a brief of a nation's veneration and gratitude. notice of nearly every event of importance:

"Since the departure of the last steamer for Panama the Indian difficulties have been on the increase rather than otherwise, and murders, robberies, and reports of hostilities, collisions, and battles have been rife. Efforts have been made in the Legislature to raise funds and State troops for carrying on the war. One of the Governor's aids, J. Neely Johnson, Esq., has been dispatched by his Excellency to the scene of disturbances, to act on the part of the State with the United States Indian commissioners. Authority has been given to raise a force of volunteers, to

be used in case of necessity. The commissioners have also left Stockton with an escort of one hundred United States troops, and it is confidently believed that if no obstacles are thrown in their way by revengeful or interested men, they will be able to form treaties with the mountain tribes and give quiet to the country. They are men of the right stamp, acquisinted with the Indian character, and disposed to deal justly with them, we believe.
"The weather has continued dry, and, for winter, won-

"The weather has continued dry, and, for winter, wonderfully warm; sometimes as high as 75 degrees and seldom as low as 50; last evening was at 47. We have not had five inches of rain since last March. The fear now is that we shall have no more rain; the consequences of which will be severe disappointment to those engaged in the dry diggings, and perhaps fatal to the stock and agricultural interests.

"Our Legislature has been battling for many things, but has won few victories. Don Quixote conflicts with windmills, amending acts by making them worse, and passing a very few which may be beneficial, log-rolling for the office of United States Sens.or, for establishing the future seat of government, for ousting each other out of their legislative saddles, &c., have been the chief public occupations of our ledles, &c., have been the chief public occupations of our le-gislators. They have fixed upon next Monday, February 17, as the day to elect a Senator to the seat of Mr. Fremont, after the 4th of March next, and various are the speculations concerning the result. Some believe Mr. King will be elected—some Mr. Heydenfelt, while others have growing faith in Mr. Fremont, in whose favor there has been an unc reaction on the part of many.
"The health of the State is of the most glorious descrip-

tion; there are scarce any deaths, or sickness in any part of the State, so far as we have heard. There is no healthie. " The excitement about the Gold Bluffs has not died out.

but much subsided. It yet remains for companies engaged there to prove whether the amount of gold there can be made ofitable to them.
"The Klamath, Scott's river, and other localities in th

opinions having contributed, in connexion with the opinions of the press, to check the great tendency to forcible entries and occupation of other people's lands, which for a while seemed a mania here.

loan not to exceed \$500,000. It is not very probable that any thing can be negotiated under that or any other act unless some means are found to raise the present credit of the State.

"Business, which has been excessively dull, seems at last In the Legislature, above noticed, a bill has passed both

Houses, by a two-thirds vote, to remove the State capital from Sap Jose to Vallejo, and wanted only the signature of the Governor to become a law.

It is reported that there had been an affray between the Indians and the miners at and near Gold Bluff, in which several of the former and two of the latter were killed and zen men. We carry our own provisions and cook, and, four or five wounded. Seven warriors of the Indians were though cramped for space, I think we shall enjoy our trip brought down to the Bluffs, where they were shot

A CALIFORNIA SPECULATION. -The Alta California de tails the following singular financial operation :

"It seems that some years since the priests of the mission of San Rafael drew upon the mission of Santa Clara for the sum of two hundred and forty dellars. The draft was accepted in the joint names of the missions of Santa Clara and San Jose, but was never paid, and was found a few weeks since among the musty archives of the mission of Santa Clara. Some smart fellow discovered and purchased it for something less than its face, and joining interest with a judicial officer of Santa Clara county, brought a suit against the mission for

"Judgment, of course, was given, and a few days afterward the whole mission lands, including the town of Santa Clara, were sold at public auction for two hundred and forty dollars, the sale having been attended by the auctioneer and purchaser. The mission of San Jose was equally liable with that of Santa Clars, but the conspirators, fearing there would be an opposition made to them at the latter place, concluded to bring down the whole weight of their power upon Santa Clara.

"By the laws which formerly governed the missions, priest had no power given him to involve the mission pro-perty, and we fancy that the present happy possessors of this beautiful and extensive tract will ere long find themselves

Iwnias Diegranasces is Cariponaria -Ry the previous arrival we had a report of a second engagement between the party of Savage and the Indians. The particulars are given in the following extract from a letter dated February 4:

"I have just received an account of Savage's second ex-pedition, which I think you can rely upon. Savage started from Agua Frio with 210 men. On the road, Savage started shead with seventy men to reconnoitre, leaving the balance of his force with Major Burney. They were to meet at Pine old Gulch. Savage waited one day at that place, but Majo Burney not coming up, he went with his small force in pur suit of the Indians. In the evening be surprised a large force and had a skirmish, the Indians retreating. Next morning twenty-eight of Savage's men took the Indians' trail, came up with them, and killed ten and wounded forty. The Indians retreated, and Savage's party returned. Major Burney's party returned without effecting any thing.'

A letter from Los Angelos, dated February 4, remarks : "News has reached us that the Tulare Indians have killed Danton's party, and Capt. Dorsey's party. Don Henrique himself was here at the time, after more horses and pravisions, as his horses had failed, and he was under the necessions. sity of making a coral at the Four Creeks. There seems no doubt of his vagueros (berdsmen) together with Capt. Dor-sey and his party, who coralled with Dalton, or near by, having all been killed and the cattle dispersed. French's ranch was attacked by the same Indians, who appear to have been ser veral hundred strong, armed with bows and arrows.

"Fortunately an emigrating party of forty Americans were at the ranch at the time. The Indians were repulsed with the loss of about forty killed. A despatch reached us the past week from French, asking arms and cartridges; they were immediately forwarded by one of his partners, who was in the city at the time. Thirteen men in all are reported to have been massacred at the Four Creeks. Capt. Dorsey is from San José. You can rely upon this news, as it comes to us in veritable form. Don Henrique is now on his return to the Four Creeks, with a party of about a dozen men, hoping to form a connexion with the emigrants who are at French's."

FROM OREGON. We have received by the Ohio Oregon papers to the 1st of

The Oregonian states that the Legislature have located the capital of the Territory at Salem, the penitentiary at Portland, and the university at Maryeville. The Legislature was to adjourn on the 8th of February, at

which time it would have been sixty-nine days in session. The editor of the Oregonian notices some large and beautiful specimens of gold which were taken on Scott's bar, a tributa y of the Klamath. These specimens were large, weighing from one to two ounces. The gold found there is coarse. generally in pieces of the weight of a quarter of an ounce, although some humps of from \$250 to \$500 had been foundWASHINGTON NATIONAL MONUMENT.

We understand that the "CLIOSOPHIC SOCIETY of the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, will present a block of marble, as soon as it can be prepared, for a place in the Washington National Monument. The block will exhibit the Arms and Motto of the Society, handsomely executed. No doubt this patriotic offering will be gladly received by the Managers of the Monument Society, com-ing as it will from a body of ingenuous youth, citizens of every section of the United States, assemoled at one of our most ancient and distinguish institutions of learning, on the very spot where one of Washington's most brilliant and decisive victories was achieved.

We hope that the noble example will be followed, not only by the students of every University and College in our land, but by associated bodies generally, until the finishing stone shall be placed on the Monument in the city of Washington, which will be a welcome testimony to the latest posterity

VIRGINIA ELECTION LAW.

As the law postponing the elections in Virginia is of interest to many of our readers, we copy the annexed statement of its effect, as prepared by the Richmond Times, in order to facilitate a correct understanding of it:

The election of Representatives in Congress is positively

ostponed to the fourth Thursday in October.

The election of Senators and Delegates, under the present onstitution, is also postponed to the same day ; but, if a new constitution shall have been agreed upon by the State Convention before the 20th of June, and ratified by the people on the fourth Thursday in August, then the election of Senators and Delegates under the present constitution is indefinitely

stitution before the 20th of June, the popular vote on its rati-fication or rejection is to be taken on the fourth Thursday in August, and voters qualified by the new constitution are to

be allowed to vote upon it.

If the new constitution be thus agreed upon and ratified, the election of Senators and Delegates throughout the State will take place, according to the apportionment fixed in the new constitution, on the fourth Thursday in October.

If the new constitution be not agreed upon by the Conven ion before the 20 h of June, or if it be so agreed upon, and then rejected by the popular vote on the fourth Thursday in August, the election of members of Assembly will take place under the present constitution, on the fourth Thursday in

If the new constitution be not agreed upon by the Convenion, before the 20th of June, but before the 1st of August, hen the popular vote is to be taken upon its ratification or reection on the fourth Thursday in October, the same day on which the Congressional and Legislative elections are fixed.

If the Convention do not prepare a new constitution before the 1st of August, the act makes no provision for its being submitted to the popular vote, but leaves the matter to the are of the next Legislature.

The Times adds that the Convention now offers but a poor prospect for the promulgation of a new Constitution before the 10th of June, and the probability is, therefore, that the present organic law will govern the elections to the next General Assembly.

EGYPT.

Extract from a Letter from an American gentleman travelling in the East, to his friend in Washngton, dated

CAIRO, JANUARY 21, 1851.

"I sailed from Constantinople for Alexandria on the 7th instant, and reached that city on the 14th, after a passage of week. We remained at Alexandria two days, and then came up hither by steam. The route is through the Mahmondish canal to A'fah, on the Nile, fifty miles from Alexandria, and one hundred from Cairo, and then up the western branch to this city, which lies a mile and a half from the river, and four or five above the head of the Delta. In a day or two we are to embark for Thebes, in a dahahéeh, as they call the boats of the country. These are clumsy vessels, about seventy feet long by twelve wide, with three small cabins on deck, two immense lateen sails, and a crew of a doreason for its restorative powers, but it is not true that "it never rains at Cairo,' as we have had three showers in the last twenty-four hours. The thermometer has stood at sunrise for three days past at 48°, 53°, and 49°, and we should be very glad of a fire, but that is a luxury very little known at Cairo. Rain is, however, certainly neither frequent nor violent at Cairo, and no precautions are taken to protect any thing from it. The grain from Upper Egypt lies in huge heaps of many thousand bushels in the open air at Boulah, without any shelter whatever, and the roofs are so slight that a lady told us that when it did rain by night she was obliged to carry an umbrella to bed with her.

"The present Viceroy, ARBAS PACHA, has a bad reputaion at Constantinople, but I have had two long and free interviews with him, and am greatly mistaken if he is not very far from being either the knave or fool that he has been represented to be. What the condition of the interior of Egypt may be I do not know, but Cairo is as far before Constantinople in all the appliances of civilized life as Washington is before Cairo. Since the departure of Autrin Ber, a wiley and corrupt Armenian, who was agent for foreign affairs, and who had led Abbas Pacha into many follies, the Viceroy has become very popular among the Franks, and if he can bear up against the intrigues of his enemies at Constantinople, will, I believe, make as good a governor as such people as he rules over can bear.

"Our Consul has suggested to him the expediency of sending an agent to the United States to view our public establishments, and especially to inquire into our improved system of river navigation. There are no steamboats on the Nile, except a few employed in the personal service of the Pachs, and in that of the Suez transportation administration, and all the produce of the country is conveyed in rude, clumsy, and langerous sail-boats. The introduction of steam tow-boats and freight-barges of light draught, which could navigate the river at all or nearly all seasons, would be of incalculable benefit to the country in various ways, and especially in releasing from the transportation service a great number of hands which are needed for the cultivation of the soil. The Viceroy seemed disposed to adopt the suggestion, and though t would not be politic to receive him with the honors accorded to Amin Bey, yet I think some advantage to our indusry and commerce might accrue from the visit of such an agent."

FROM CHINA.

Late accounts from China confirm the report of the death of Commissioner Lix. He expired suddenly on the 18th of November, on his way to the insurrectionary district of Quan-si. Whilst the Government seems to have prevailed over the insurgents in that district, a fresh movement has taken place in the Island of Hainan, where ten thousand insurgents are in arms. One body of Imperial troops, sent to suppress the insurgents, fraternized with them, and a second oody were dispersed. The cholera having broken out, has brought a new calamity in the province of Quangtong. The Chinese authorities have captured the pirates who murdered Bazz, the Swedish missionary, and have beheaded twentyeight of them. At Ava, a frightful conflagration has consumed two thousand bouses.

FROM TURKEY.

A letter from Constantinople of the 17th ultimo announces that the question of the Hungarian refugees at Kutaveh has been definitively arranged. The Emperor of Austria has granted a full and entire amnesty to those refugees, on condition that they shall declare that they will not make any attempt to re-enter Hungary. Eight of them, however, are excepted from this amnesty, and are to remain at Kutayeh until further orders. Amongst those excepted are Kossuth and Count Bathyany. The persons amnested are to preceed to Moudanis, where they will find a Turkish ship to convey them where they please—the Turkish Government defraying their expenses by sea and land.